7 1915

Labor-Day Number

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Go

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Walsh Report A Lightn[illegible]g Blast

U. S. Industrial Commission Reveals Fearful Situation of Mass of People Under Merciless Rule of 44 Princely Families—Demands Abolition of Monopolies and Confiscation of Huge Fortunes

After two years of careful investigation the United States Commission on Industrial Relations has completed its report and submitted it to Congress. It is the most terrible indictment of conditions existing in this country that has ever been presented. Armed with high powers by special act of the Government, and directly supported by the President against adverse pressure, the Walsh Commission has sought to find the causes of industrial unrest. And it has hidden no whit of what it has found.

Its report voices the hoarse agony of the American working class as they themselves have never been able to do. It tears off with a pitiless hand the mask of "benevolence" from the great private Foundations; it reveals the collapse of the Republic in the petty princedoms of industrial states, and the intolerable degradation produced in them. It reveals the massacre of babies of the poor, the starvation and betrayal of their daughters and wives, the mangling of the bodies and poisoning of the souls of the American workingmen.

Already the Powers of Darkness are rallying to hide this fearful illumination. After every lightning stroke, the blackness is deeper. KEEP THIS THUNDERBOLT BURNING!

Unless the knowledge here given you moves the working class to a united act to end these abuses, time and energy will have been spent in vain. Spread the knowledge, and spur the act!

There is but one way finally to end these horrors, and that is Socialism. But do not wait to convert every man you meet to Socialism—GET HIM TO THINKING! MAKE HIM READ!

SOCIALISM ONLY WAY OUT, CONCLUSION OF WALSH COMMISSION

After two years of investigation this is the only way out discovered:

"The crux of the whole question is: Shall the workers be organized and represented collectively?"

"The only hope for the solution of these tremendous problems lies in the effective use of our democratic institutions, and the rapid extension of the principles of Democracy to Industry."

Here is the whole program of Socialism officially indorsed as the only way out. For organized labor using our democratic institutions—i. e., the ballot—to bring about industrial democracy, means Socialism, pure and simple!

Two great documents have marked the two previous great epochs in American history. The Declaration of Independence announced the birth on this continent of a republic dedicated to human freedom, equality and justice. The Emancipation Proclamation announced that hereafter involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime should not exist wherever the American flag waved. It may be that the Walsh report will mark the third and greatest epoch—the beginning of the Social Revolution.

Neither of these earlier utterances were worth the paper on which they were written, except as they were validated by the great social movements which they voiced. Had Thomas Jefferson's charges against the policies of the British King remained unbacked by the American Revolution and by the actual throwing off of the British yoke, its literary excellence would have meant nothing, nor would its fervor have escaped its life.

not been validated by the victorious armies of the North, the slaves would not be free, nor would this continent have been in theory dedicated to human liberty.

The Walsh Commission Report will rank with or below these other two great documents, only as it is backed up and validated by the resistless might of labor. In its significance it is tremendous. It voices, clearly and beyond the possibilitity of dispute, all the wrongs and tyrannies and oppressions of which the great Spirit of Humanity has groaned, with groanings that could not be uttered, for generations past. Here, set down as the official findings of a committee created by a special act of Congress, a committee equal in rank to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the National Reserve Bank Commission—are all the bitter evils that were ever charged by any wild-eyed orator upon a street corner soap box, by the light of a flaring torch.

They are worse, far worse, than those charged against George III by any Continental Congress of our Revolutionary Days. They are worse than the iniquities charged against the slave-owners of the South by abolitionist orators before the Civil War. For they charge a wholesale corruption and perversion of all justice, decency, law, order, humanity, not as horrible incidents occuring here and there, but as part of the regular process and outworking of the Capitalist system.

IF THIS REPORT FALLS UPON DEAF EARS, AND DISPLAYS THESE HORRORS TO BLIND EYES, things will remain as they are shown to be. Only if Labor rises in its might to cast down the whole hideous structure of our economic order, will the Walsh report take rank with the documents that have made American history.

• • • •

Friends!—Americans!—Men [illegible] Women!

Every power of evil is already stretching

nation's wrongs. Every newspaper in the country, except the labor press, is TRYING TO PREVENT A KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT IT CONTAINS FROM REACHING THE PEOPLE.

They are printing scornful interviews with the bankers—but not with the workingmen.

Throughout the land the papers are adopting a similar tone. YOU MUST ACT AND ACT QUICKLY, before the impression is stamped upon the minds of the American workingman that the Walsh report is not worth his attention. YOU MUST SEE THAT HE GETS IT AND GETS IT QUICK.

This is a call to you, personally and individually, for prompt action to distribute the findings of the Walsh report to every workingman and woman you know. We ask you to order bundles of ONE HUNDRED OR MORE of this edition of the Christian Socialist, and to place it in every hand that toils for bread. If you cannot afford the DOLLAR necessary to bring you the 100 copies by return mail, TRY AND GET SOME ONE ELSE TO CLUB WITH YOU. If you cannot do this order Fifty, or even Ten—But order Quick!

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1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
2. Unemployment and denial of opportunity to earn a living.
3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of law.
4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations."

The Live Ones

By Mrs. Ella Carr

Dear Comrades:

With a vision of the great future which is coming rapidly, and while we are now in the midst of the mighty events that are bringing us to it, are we not willing to help spread the great truths that are needed to mould this vision and make it real? What joy could exceed the joy of such work! May we daily inspire our souls with "The Vision," then will we work with joy.

* * *

Brings Cheer and Inspiration

The cheer and inspiration I receive from your paper is beyond words.

Mrs. Mary O. Sutherland, Idaho.

* * *

We enjoy the Christian Socialist so much we feel we cannot afford to miss one number.

Mrs. Rose Williams, Indiana.

* * *

I love the Christian Socialist for the stand it takes for a united Christianity.

J. G. Wilson, Texas.

* * *

Frank P. Walsh Number

Your July number is beyond comparison and here is my hat off to its "getting up staff." Success be with you as long as you follow the present path, for cleanliness is next to Godliness. I am deeply interested in the few words that were printed concerning Mr. Frank P. Walsh and would like to procure all of his work in the case just finished.

H. C. Faber, West Virginia.

* * *

Comrade Gideon Noel, of Bliss, Mich., orders a bundle of 75 of the July number and writes: "I shall not only write to the Congressman from this district, but shall urge my neighbors to sign a petition to him to insist in Congress on the publishing of the testimony of the Industrial Relations Commission.

* * *

I am well pleased with the article, "Let There Be Light." I have mailed a letter to our Congressman to insist that the testimony of this Commission be printed in full.

J. M. Boatman, Indiana.

He also orders a bundle for distribution among his friends.

* * *

Comrade Chas. A. Hurley, of New York, sent in a good order for subs and copies and writes: "I spend my extra change in this way. I have some fun and spread Socialism. After I give a paper away I go around and ask for a quarter for a sub. I intend to put a few on the news stand."

* * *

Comrade Prosser's book, "The Scarlet Woman," has begun to sell well. We wish to urge that this book be given to your non-Socialist friends, especially to mothers and daughters. The price, 25 cents, makes it easy to purchase. Your money will be well spent.

* * *

Bundle Orders

The following Comrades have sent for 100 or more of the June or July numbers for distribution:

H. B. Meyers, Georgia.
R. H. Looney, Texas.
Wm. Humphrey, Washington.
Wm. Utech, Florida.
J. Ed Kildow, West Virginia.

* * *

Four Year Renewals

A. Rogers, of Utah, and Paul E. Ricksecker, of Pennsylvania, send in four year subs. Mrs. John Leaming, of Chicago, pays for five years.

* * *

Song Books

Comrades James T. King, of New Mexico, and W. W. Golden, of West Virginia, each order one dozen Songs of Socialism.

* * *

Comrade Anna Bishin, Woman's Correspondent of Marion, Ind., sent two subs for ministers which were paid out of the propaganda funds of the women.

* * *

Comrade R. B. Martin, of Washington, reports good meetings all along the line in Montana and sent in $5.50 for subs.

* * *

Comrade A. C. Fleagle, of Baltimore, sent in $4.50 for subs. And Mrs. Julia C. Adams, of Arizona, sent $3.75, saying, "I certainly am pleased with the Christian Socialist."

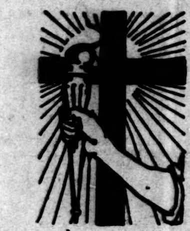
* * *

Alphonse Olbrich, of Pennsylvania, orders eight copies each issue, and C. S. Shonts, of Canada, a bundle of four each issue.

* * *

Comrade F. E. Fuller, of Idaho, sent one dollar for 75 copies of the Moses and Marx number, and 25 of the Knights of Columbus number.

SHOW YOUR COLORS



To every person sending in four yearly subscriptions, we are sending by return mail a handsome button, emblazoned in three colors with the above design, containing the Cross and Torch and the words "Christian Socialist." This is not a premium, but a recognition of loyal support. Wear your button. People will ask about it, and then you will have an opportunity to make a convert. SHOW YOUR COLORS!

The following comrades have received this badge, in recognition of their sending $1.00 or more for subscriptions the past month:

R. H. Nicholas, Pennsylvania.
James Lindsay, Lanarkshire, Scotland.
E. L. Beede, Oregon.
J. Blakely, Illinois.
O. B. Spink, Washington.
Jas. Bear, Colorado.
J. B. Cookson, Pennsylvania.
E. Crawford, Missouri.
W. B. Woodey, Washington, D. C.
L. Laherge, Maine.
J. M. Fair, Texas.
W. F. Rinck, Missouri.
H. T. Mauerhan, California.
F. F. Ferrell, Pennsylvania.
A. E. Palmer, New Hampshire.
Foster Willhide, Minnesota.
J. H. Emerick, Michigan.
J. A. Artman, Kansas.
Samuel Bruce, Pennsylvania.
A. H. Bardsley, New Jersey.
Merrill S. Gaunt, South Dakota.
Henry F. Thomas, Rhode Island.
C. W. Lyman, California.
A. M. Wyman, New Jersey.
D. W. Weidman, Kansas.
German Friton, Iowa.
Joseph Mras, West Virginia.
W. Mutton, Michigan.
O. E. Kerr, West Virginia.
H. Osterhaudt, Iowa.
G. F. Chapman, Indiana.
G. T. Richards, Pennsylvania.
B. Peterson, Montana.
Rev. H. C. Bartow, Massachusetts.
George Pulliam, Wisconsin.
S. E. Brees, Minnesota.
Charles A. Hurley, New York.
Jas. M. Nesbitt, Pennsylvania.
B. P. Ross, California.
Leroy Guffy, South Dakota.
D. S. Cameron, Iowa.
Peter T. Robertson, Arizona.
Roy Porter, Indiana.
J. A. Schreiber, Indiana.
L. L. Abbott, Maine.
S. J. Folk, West Virginia.
Dr. George Welby Van Pelt, Alabama.
A Comrade, Illinois.
Thos. Jenner, Washington.
J. B. Green, Texas.

SOCIAL RELIGION; by Scott Nearing. Price $1.10, postpaid. Order of The Christian Socialist.

A yearly meeting of Friends once asked Scott Nearing, professor of economics in the university of the city of William Penn, to lecture to them on Social Religion. Nearing, who comes of a Quaker family, did so; and the book contains the substance of his lecture. It is a dynamic book, written in a simple, eloquent style, and full of facts and pictures of the degradation of American social life that are alternately infuriating and inspiring. No one could read this book and remain content with the religion of the average individualist type. No one could read it without longing, ardently and with determination, to enlist in the cause of Social Justice. It is a book which will open the eyes of the blind and nerve the heart of the timid. Prof. Nearing's recent dismissal, and the tide of indignation stirred up over that fact, should bring this book a wide reading.

LABOR IN POLITICS; by Robert Hunter. Price 25 cents. Order of The Christian Socialist.

Why is not American union labor all voting for Socialism? is the question which perplexes every foreign Socialist. This book gives the answer—and also exposes the result. Labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are held out of the Socialist political movement by the influence of Samuel Gompers and a few like him who are jealous of their jobs. The result has been that American labor is twenty years behind any civilized country in its political achievements. How the masters of great wealth play with American labor, divide it, set it fighting itself, and reap the spoils with triumphant contempt, is plainly shown. NO UNION MAN CAN READ THIS WITHOUT BECOMING A SOCIALIST. TRY IT ONCE AND SEE.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT; by J. A. Smith, Professor of Political Economy, University of Washington. Price 60 cents, postpaid. Order of The Christian Socialist.

Did you know that the history of American politics is one long struggle between the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence? That the Constitution is not a democratic document, but an aristocratic one? That the Founders of the Republic were not interested in promoting human liberty, but in suppressing it. Prof. Smith is one of the men whom Great Wealth is trying to hound out of their positions. Read this book and you will see why.

BOOKS

Order of The Christian Socialist

The Socialism of Jesus

By Rufus W. Weeks

Price Ten Cents

A strong, clear, convincing presentation of the position of Jesus of Nazareth on the Social Revolution. Contains 45 pages, mainly quotations from the Gospels with short comments by the author. Carry in your vest-pocket and Use it on Church-Members.

The Bible Argument for Socialism

By J. Stitt Wilson

Price Ten Cents

Here is a quotation from page 25.

"The Bible is the most dangerously radical book ever placed in human hands. The secret of the revolutionary character of the Bible is that nothing ever read by men places such infinite value upon human personality as does this book."

The A, B, C of Socialism

By Harvey P. Moyer

Price Five Cents

This booklet, including "Vital Questions," by same author, is the BEST BOOK to give to one desiring "Something Constructive." It presents the constructive side of Socialism in its briefest and most winning aspect.

Carry a Few in your Best-Pocket.

Moyer's Songs of Socialism

Price Twenty Cents

Melodious, stirring, powerful. Contains the great hymns of the Social Revolution, besides many original airs.

Poems of a Socialist Priest

Irwin St. John Tucker

Price, 25 Cents

"They have the real revolutionary ring."—Rufus W. Weeks.

"Virile in every line; the strength of epic poetry is found in many of them."—The Living Church.

"We have decided to push this booklet."—The Milwaukee Leader.

"We eagerly expect the next book by this author."—The New York Call.

You should have one. Sing the Songs of the Revolution. Order of The Christian Socialist.

Christian Elements in the Socialist Movement

By Carl D. Thompson

Price Ten Cents

This excellent little book is by the Secretary of the Information Department of the Socialist Party, himself a Christian minister. Every Local and Branch ought to have a large supply on hand to distribute or to sell to Doubting Christians.

Merrie England

By Robert Blatchford

Price Ten Cents

A presentation of the fearful condition of the Poor in England under Capitalism. The writer is a strong, scientific, clear-spoken writer.

The Golden Rule Republic: No Utopia

By Rev. William H. Randall

Price Twenty-five Cents

A masterful explanation of how Socialism will work for those who want something Constructive from a Christian Point of View.

RUSKIN H H H

A COLONY with an IDEAL

Voluntary Co-operation Encouraged

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ADVANTAGES
A HOME-MAKING CENTER

Excellent Trucking and Fruit Lands in an artesian belt where a strong flow is secured at about 200 feet. Good subsoil, natural drainage, wonderfully productive soil.

Individual deeds with a few restrictions in favor of The Commongood. Ruskin College affords young men and women an opportunity to earn expense of board and room while pursuing course.

Town Lot property selling at special prices.

Fine Location; large lots, near center of town, near salt water, boating, bathing and fishing.

Farm Tracts in Artesian belt near river and town. Good combination soil, natural drainage, poultry, fruit and trucking sites.

RUSKIN is 15 miles South of Tampa on the Little Manatee River. It is not a Socialistic Colony, but offers every advantage possible under the present System to those who wish to co-operate. For further particulars write

Miller-Dickman, Ruskin, Florida

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3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of law.
4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations."

Republic Collapses Into Net of Kingdoms

The Republic has dissolved. In its place is a network of kingdoms and principalities, governed by rulers irresponsible to their subjects or to the law, yet holding power of life and death over them; invisible, without conscience, without knowledge, without interest in the welfare of their slaves.

We are accustomed to look back upon the "Dark Ages" of anarchy and riot, when all Europe was divided into petty kingdoms ruled by sovereigns whose only law was their own will, with a shudder of abhorrence. We pride ourselves upon our civilization, upon our advance from the days of barbarism.

Look! This commission points out to us that we are really WORSE OFF than in the days of the unrestrained anarchy of feudalism. For at least those petty princelings were restrained within their own borders. One knew where to find them. Their subjects occasionally saw and heard them. But not so today.

"Such scattered, invisible industrial principalities are a GREATER MENACE to the welfare of the nation," says this report, "than would be equal power consolidated into numerous petty kingdoms in different parts of the country. THEY MIGHT THEN BE VISUALIZED AND GUARDED AGAINST—NOW THEIR INFLUENCE INVISIBLY PERMEATES AND CONTROLS EVERY PHASE OF LIFE AND INDUSTRY!"

* * *

Did you fancy you lived in a Republic? Read these words:

In isolated industrial, mining or agricultural communities, which are owned or controlled by single individuals or corporations, and in which the employees are unorganized, **industrial feudalism is the rule rather than the exception.**

In such communities, democratic government does not as a rule exist, except in name or form, and as a consequence there now exist within the body of our **republic petty industrial communities**, which are virtually **principalities**, oppressive to those dependent upon them for a liveihood and a dreadful menace to the peace and welfare of the nation.

Such conditions as these are the direct and inevitable consequence of the industrial relations which exist in such communities. Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy.

Such industrial democracy has been established in a greater or less degree in certain American industries or for certain classes of employees. But between such conditions of industrial democracy and industrial feudalism, there are almost infinite gradations marking the stages of evolution which have been reached. In every case, however, investigation has shown that the **degree of political freedom** and democracy which exists is conditioned by the industrial status of the citizens who form the majority of the community.

The immediate effects of the form and character of **industrial organization** are greater and closer to the lives and happiness of all classes of citizens than even the form and character of our **political institutions.**

The ordinary man, whether employer or worker, has relatively little contact with the government. If he and his family are well-fed, well-housed, and well-clothed, and if he can pay for the education of his children, he can exist even under an autocratic monarchy with little concern until some critical situation develops in which his own liberty is interfered with or until he is deprived of life or property by the overwhelming power of his tyrannical ruler.

But his industrial relations determine every day what he and his family shall eat, what they shall wear, how many hours of his life he shall labor and in what surroundings. **Under certain conditions where his individual or corporate employer owns or controls the community in which he lives, the education of his children, the character and prices of his food, clothing and house, his own actions, speech and opinions, AND IN SOME CASES EVEN HIS RELIGION, are controlled and determined, insofar as the interests of the employer make it desirable for him to exercise such control.** Such conditions are established and maintained not only through the dictation of all working conditions of employment by the employer, but by his usurpation or control of the functions and machinery of political government in such communities.

Forty-four families rule these kingdoms through a horde of "parasites"—"bloodsuckers"—like the festering nobility of the OLD WORLD.

"We have, according to the income tax returns, 44 families with incomes of $1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate incomes, totalling at the least fifty millions per year, are equivalent to the earnings of 100,000 wage earners, at the average rate of $500.

"Between the two extremes of superfluity and poverty is the large middle class, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, professional men, skilled artisans, and salaried officials whose incomes are more or less adequate for their legitimate needs and desires, and who are rewarded more or less exactly in proportion to service. They have problems to meet in adjusting expenses to income, but the pinch of want and hunger is not felt, nor is there the deadening, devitalizing effect of superfluous, unearned wealth.

PARASITES

"From top to bottom of society, however, in all grades of incomes **are an innumerable number of parasites of every conceivable type. They perform no useful service, but drain off from the income of the producers a sum whose total cannot be estimated.**

"Beside the economic significance of these great inequalities of wealth and income, there is a social aspect which equally merits the attention of Congress. It has been shown that the great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American industry have already or will in a few years pass by right of inheritance to the control of heirs or to trustees who act as their '**vice regents.**' They are frequently styled by our newspapers 'monarchs of indutsry,' **and indeed occupy within our republic a position almost exactly analogous to that of feudal lords.**

HEREDITARY LORDS

"These heirs, **owners only by virtue of the accident of birth**, control the livelihoods and have the power to dictate the happiness of more human beings than populated England in the middle ages. Their principalities, it is true, are scattered and, through the medium of stock-ownership, shared in part with others; **but they are none the less real.** In fact, such scattered, invisible industrial principalities are a greater menace to the welfare of the nation, than would be equal power consolidated into numerous petty kingdoms in different parts of the country. They might then be visualized and guarded against,—now their influence invisibly permeates and controls every phase of life and industry.

"'The king can do no wrong,' not only because he is above the law, but because every function is either performed or responsibility assumed by his ministers and agents. Similarly, our **Rockefellers, Morgans, Fricks,** Vanderbilts and Astors **can do no industrial wrong**, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry.

QUOTES ROCKEFELLER

"The similitude, indeed, runs even to mental attitude and phase. Compare these two statements:

> **"John D. Rockefeller, Jr.—'My appreciation of the conditions surrounding wage-earners and my sympathy with every endeavor to better these conditions are as strong as those of any man.'**
>
> **"Louis XVI.—'There is none but you and me that has the people's interest at heart.' ('Il n'y a que vous et moi qui aimions le peuple.')**

"The 'families' of these industrial princes are already well established and are knit together not only by commercial alliances, but by a net work of inter-marriages which assure harmonious action whenever their common interest is threatened.

"Effective action by Congress is required, therefore, not only to readjust on a basis commensurate in some measure to the service performed, the existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income, **but also to check the growth of an hereditary aristocracy**, which is not only foreign to every conception of American Government, **but menacing to the welfare of the people and the existence of the nation as a democracy.**

"The objects to be attained in making this readjustment are: to reduce the swollen, unearned fortunes of those who have a superfluity; to raise the underpaid masses to a level of decent and comfortable living; and at the same time to accomplish this on a basis which will, in some measure, approximate the just standard of income proportional to service."

This "readjustment" means the confiscation of all fortunes over one million dollars at the death of the original owner. Are you for this? Then say so!

THE MILWAUKEE LEADER (Daily)
And The
CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST (Monthly)
One Year for $3.00

PEARSON'S MAGAZINE (Monthly)
And The
CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST (Monthly)
One Year for $1.00 (In Canada $1.15)

THE MASSACRE OF THE BABIES OF THE POOR

Children are the basis of the state; as they live or die, as they thrive or are ill-nourished, as they are intelligent or ignorant, so fares the state. How do the children of American workers fare?

It has been proved by studies here and abroad that there is a direct relation between poverty and the death rate of babies; but the frightful rate at which poverty kills was not known, at least for this country, until last year, when through a study made by the Federal Children's Bureau in Johnstown, Pa., it was shown that THE BABIES WHOSE FATHERS EARNED LESS THAN $10 PER WEEK DIED DURING THE FIRST YEAR AT THE APPALLING RATE OF 256 PER 1,000. On the other hand, those whose fathers earned $25 per week or more died at the rate of only 84 per 1,000. The babies of the poor died three times as fast as those who were in fairly well-to-do families. The tremendous significance of these figures will be appreciated when it is known that ONE-THIRD OF ALL THE ADULT WORKMEN REPORTED BY THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION EARNED LESS THAN $10 PER WEEK. ON THE SHOWING OF JOHNSTOWN THESE WORKMEN MAY EXPECT ONE OUT OF FOUR OF THEIR BABIES TO DIE DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF LIFE.—Walsh Report.

One-Third of Nation Is Sunk in Poverty

AT LEAST ONE-THIRD IN POVERTY

How large this proportion is cannot be exactly determined, but it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support the man in anything like a comfortable and decent condition. The Immigration Commission in 1909 secured detailed information regarding the daily or weekly earnings of 619,595 employers of all cases in our basic manufacturing industries and in coal mining, and information regarding income and living conditions for 15,726 families.

"It was found that the annual incomes of almost two-thirds of these families (64 per cent) were less than $750 per year and for almost one-third (31 per cent) were less than $500, the average for all being $721. The average size of these families was 5.6 members. Elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of the country at the same time have shown that the very least that a family of five persons can live upon in anything approaching decency is $700. It is probable that owing to the fact that the families investigated by the Immigration Commission were to a large extent foreign born, the incomes are lower than for the average of the entire working population; nevertheless even when every allowance is made for that fact, the figures show conclusively that between one-half and two-thirds of these families were living below the standards of decent subsistence, while about one-third were living in a state which can be described only as abject poverty.

"American society was founded and for a long period existed upon the theory that the family should derive its support from the earnings of the fathers. How far we have departed from this condition is shown by the fact that 78 per cent (i.e., more than three-fourths) of the fathers of these families earned less than $700 per year. In brief, only one-fourth of these fathers could have supported their families on the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family or income from outside sources.

"Other facts collected in this investigation show conclusively that a very large proportion of these families did not live in decency and comfort.

NATION OF LAZARUS-BEGGARS FEEDS FROM CRUMBS OF 44 FAMILIES

The report shows that 44 families possess aggregate incomes totaling at the least fifty millions per year, while between one-fourth and one-third of male workers in factories and mines, 18 years of age and over, earn less than $10.00 per week, and only about one-tenth earn more than $20 per week.

Inequality in the distribution of wealth and income is set forth as follows:

"First, with regard to the adult workmen, the fathers and potential fathers, from whose earnings according to the 'American standard,' the support of the family is to be derived.

"Between one-fourth and one-third of male workers in factories and mines 18 years of age and over earn less than $10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earn less than $15, and only about one-tenth earn more than $20 a week. This does not take into consideration lost working time for any cause.

"Next are the women, the most portentously growing factor in the labor force, whose wages are important, not only for their own support or as the supplement of the meager earnings of their fathers and husbands, but because through the force of competition in a rapidly extending field, they threaten the whole basis of the wage scale. From two-thirds to three-fourths of women workers in factories, stores, laundries, and in industrial occupations generally, work at wages of less than $6 a week. Approximately one-fifth earn less than $4 and nearly one-half earn less than $6 a week.

Have you ever read any more terribly touching picture of the desperate pressure on the working-girls?

PLIGHT OF THE UNDERPAID GIRL

"Six dollars a week—what does it mean to many? Three theater tickets, gasoline for the week, or the price of a dinner for two; a pair of shoes, three pairs of gloves, or the cost of an evening at bridge. To the girl it means that every penny must be counted, every normal desire stifled, and each basic necessity of life barely satisfied by the sacrifice of some other necessity. If more food must be had than is given with 15 cent dinners, it must be bought with what should go for clothes; if there is need for a new waist to replace the old, one at which the forewoman has glanced reproachfully, or at which the girs rave giggled, there can be no lunches for a week, and dinners must cost five cents less each day. Always too the room must be paid for, and back of it lies the certainty that with slack seasons will come lay-offs and discharges. If the breaking point has come, and she must have some amusement, where can it come from? Surely not out of six dollars a week.

"Last of all are the children, for whose petty addition to the stream of production the nation is paying a heavy toll in ignorance, deformity of body or mind, and premature old age. After all, does it matter much what they are paid? For all experience has shown that in the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount that the children earn. This is the so-called 'family wage,' and examination of the wages in different industries corroborates the theory that in those industries, such as textiles, where women and children can be largely utilized, the wages of men are extremely low.

"The competitive effect of the employment of women and children upon the wages of men, can scarcely be overestimated. Surely it is hard enough to be forced to put children to work, without having to see the wages of men held down by their employment.

"This is the condition at one end of the social scale; what is at the other?

"Massed in millions, at the other end of the social scale, are fortunes of a size never before dreamt of, whose very owners do not know the extent, nor without the aid of an intelligent clerk, even the sources of their incomes. Incapable of being spent in any legitimate manner, these fortunes are burdens, which can only be squandered, hoarded, put into so-called 'benefactions,' which for the most part constitute a menace to the state, or put back into the industrial machine to pile up ever-increasing mountains of gold.

REWARDS ONLY FOR SERVICE

"In many cases, no doubt, these huge fortunes have come, in whole or in part, as the rich reward of exceptional service. None would deny or envy him who has performed such service the richest of rewards, although one may question the ideals of a nation which rewards exceptional service only by burdensome fortunes. But such reward can be claimed as a right only by those who have performed service, not by those who through relationship or mere parasitism chance to be designated as heirs.

"Legal right, of course, they have by virtue of the law of inheritance, which, however, runs counter to the whole theory of American society, and which was adopted, with important variations, from the English law without any conception of its ultimate results and apparently with the idea that it would prevent exactly the condition which has arisen.

INHERITANCE LAW CONDEMNED

"In effect the American law of inheritance is as efficient for the establishment and maintenance of families as the English law, which has bulwarked the British aristocracy through the centuries. Every year, indeed, sees this tendency increase, as the creation of 'estates in trust' secures the ends which might be more simply reached, if there were no prohibition of 'entail.'

"According to the income tax returns for ten months of 1914, there are in the United States 1598 fortunes yielding an income of $100,000 per year or over. Practically all of these fortunes are so invested and hedged about with restrictions upon expenditure that they are, to all intents and purposes, perpetuities.

"An analysis of fifty of the largest American fortunes shows that nearly half have already passed to the control of heirs or to trustees (their vice regents) and that the remainder will pass to the control of heirs within 20 years upon the deaths of the 'founders.' Already, indeed, these founders have almost without exception retired from active service, leaving the management ostensibly to their heirs, but actually to executive officials upon salary."

HAVE OUR FOREFATHERS DIED IN VAIN?

If you are a wage-worker the government is your enemy—so says this commission! Read!

"The problems of industrial relations, therefore, demand the attention of Congress, not only because they determine the life, security and happiness of the twenty-five million citizens of the United States who occupy the position of wage earners, but because they affect for good or evil the government of localities and states, and to a smaller degree that of a nation itself. What each of these wage earners shall eat, what he shall wear, where he shall live, and how long and under what conditions he shall labor, are determined by his industrial status and by his relation individually or collectively to the person or corporation employing him. Similarly and almost as directly this relationship determines whether the machinery of government shall be used for or against his welfare, whether his vote shall count for or against his own interest, whether he shall be tried by a jury of his peers or a jury selected in collusion with the employing company, or, under conditions of so-called martial law, by **NO JURY WHATEVER**; whether in fact he shall be a free man or be deprived of every right guaranteed by federal and state constitutions, imprisoned without warrant for the commission of crimes of which he may be innocent, or forcibly deported from the community or state in which he has made his home. The entire machinery of the Federal Government should be utilized to the greatest possible degree for the correction of such deplorable conditions as have been found to exist."

WHY SHOULD THEY FIGHT?

The report remarks:

"The lack of a proper industrial relationship and the existence of bad labor conditions is a matter of the most serious moment during times of peace, but the events of the past year have demonstrated how enormously their menace to the welfare of a nation is increased during a period of war. The present European war is being fought on the farms and in the factories as much as in the trenches. The effective mobilization of our industrial resources is as important simply from the standpoint of war, as the mobilization of our military and naval forces.

"It is equally important that action should be taken now rather than after war is a reality."

After reading this report, ask yourself "Why on earth should American workmen fight? No nation treats its subjects with such intolerable cruelty as do our invisible overlords. What tyranny could be worse than the anarchy of this republic?"

Shows Courts Have Betrayed the People

Can anyone escape an acute attack of that dreaded disease, "Contempt of Court," when he reads this blast against our legal system, root and branch, top and bottom? This list of charges is not the idle vaporing of some demagogic agitator; it is the settled finding of a commission empowered by Congress itself, and chosen by the President, and backed and endorsed by his tremendous silent power.

Under the head "Denial of Justice," found to be the third principal cause of unrest, the report cites numerous typical instances to prove the following charges:

First, with regard to the enactment of laws, it is charged that the workers have been unable to secure legislation to protect them against grievous wrongs except after exhausting struggles against overwhelming odds and against insidious influences.

COURTS REGULARLY UNFAIR

Second, it is charged that after wholesome and necessary laws are passed, they are in large part **nullified by the courts** upon technicalities of a character **which would not be held to invalidate legislation favorable to the interests of manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and other property owners,** or thrown out on the broad ground of unconstitutionality through strained or illogical construction of constitution provisions.

JUDGES ARE BIASED

Third, that in the administration of law, both common and statute, there is **discrimination by the courts against the poor** and in favor of the wealthy and powerful, and that this discrimination arises not only from the economic disabilities of the poor, **but also out of the actual bias on the part of the judges in favor of the wealthy and influential.**

PERVERTED THE CONSTITUTION

Fourth, that courts have not only neglected or refused to protect workers in the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, and of the several states, but that sections of the constitution framed primarily to protect human rights **have been perverted** to protect property rights only, and to deprive workers of the protection of rights secured to them by statutes.

Fifth, that the ordinary legal machinery provides no adequate means whereby laborers and other poor men can secure redress for wrongs inflicted upon them through the non-payment of wages, through over-charges at company stores, through exorbitant hospital and other fees, fines and deductions, through fraud on the part of private employment offices, loan offices and installment houses, and through the "grafting" of foremen and superintendents. **The losses to wage earners from these sources are stated to amount each year to millions of dollars and to work untold hardship on a class of men who can ill afford to lose even a penny of their hard won earnings.**

UPSET TRIAL BY JURY

Sixth, that the courts, by the unwarranted extension of their powers in the issuance of injunctions, have not only grievously injured the workers individually and collectively, upon innumerable occasions, but have also, by the contempt procedure consequent upon disobedience to such injunctions, **deprived the workers of the right, fundamental to Anglo Saxon institutions, to be tried by jury.**

Seventh, that laws designed for the protection of labor in workshops, mines and on railroads are not effectively enforced except in a few states.

Eighth, that in cases involving industrial questions the workers are liable to great injustice by reason of the fact that in many localities they **are excluded from juries either** by the qualifications prescribed (usually payment of property tax) or by the method of selection.

BRUTALITY OF OFFICERS

Ninth, that during strikes, innocent men are in many cases arrested without just cause, charged with fictitious crimes, held under excessive bail, and treated frequently with unexampled brutality for the purpose of injuring the strikers and breaking the strike.

Tenth, that in many localities during strikes not only is one of the greatest functions of the state, that of policing, turned virtually over to employers or arrogantly assumed by them, but criminals employed by detective agencies and strike breaking agencies are clothed by the process of deputization with arbitrary power and relieved of criminal liability for their acts.

Eleventh, that during strikes in many localities the entire system of civil government is suspended and there is set up **in its place a military despotism under so-called martial law.**

Twelfth, that in some localities the control by the employers of the entire **machinery** of government is so great that **lawless acts on the part of agents of the employers go unheeded and unpunished, while vindictive action against the leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalled in civilized countries.**

The report says regarding remedies:

"In considering the action which needs to be taken it has been urged by some that the end to be achieved is to place personal rights on a parity with property rights. It is necessary to render a firm protest and warning against the acceptance of such an ideal. **The establishment of property rights and personal rights on the same level can leave only a constant and evergrowing menace to our popular institutions.** With the **acceptance** of such an ideal our democracy is doomed to ultimate destruction. **Personal rights must be recognized as supreme and of unalterable ascendency over property rights.**

"Relief from these grave evils cannot be secured by petty reforms. The action must be drastic and directed at the roots from which these evils spring.

Merciless Greed Is Sole Law for Millions

Like a giant hand tearing off the mask of benevolence from the faces of the giant corporations is that section of the report dealing with "Corporations and Wage-Earners." Utter soullessness linked with bottomless greed is the prime character of these princedoms into which our nation has dissolved. What doddering fool can again whine "The interests of capital and labor are identical" when he has once read this pitilessly clear and incontestable picture of the inner workings of the great giant Greed?

"Upon the testimony of financiers representing as directors, hundreds of corporations, the typical director of large corporations is not only totally ignorant of the actual operations of such corporations whose properties he seldom, if ever, visits, but feels and exercises no responsibility for anything beyond the financial condition and the selection of executive officials. Upon their own statements, **these directors know nothing and care nothing about** the quality of the product, **the condition and treatment of the workers** from whose labor they derive their income, or the general management of the business.

"So far as operation and actual management are concerned, **the executive officials are practically supreme.** Upon their orders production is increased or decreased, plants are operated or shut down, and upon their recommendations wages are raised or lowered. But even they have little direct contact with the actual establishment of working conditions, and **no relation at all with the rank and file of the workers.** They act upon the recommendations of superintendents, whose information comes from their assistants and foremen and from **the elaborate statistics of modern business, which account for every piece of material and product, show the disposition of every penny that comes and goes, BUT IGNORE, AS THOUGH THEY DID NOT EXIST, THE MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE LABOR DRIVES THE WHOLE MECHANISM OF BUSINESS.**

"In transportation, approximately 100 per cent of the wage earners are employed by corporations; in mining, 90 per cent; and in manufacturing, 75 per cent. Moreover, it is under this form that the great problems of industrial relations have developed.

"Let us grant the high character and good intentions of officials, and consider the statement of the workers in reply. They say that **in modern corporate business the actions of officials are governed not by their personal intentions, but by the inexorable demands for interest and dividends, and are driven not by their desire to create a permanently successful business with a contented labor force, but by the never-relaxed spur of the comparative cost-sheet.**

MANAGERS CANNOT EFFECT REFORMS

"The constant demand is for **high production at low cost,** not through improvements and good conditions which might give them next year, but **this very month.** In the high pressure of business, every superintendent knows that if his plant is at the bottom of the comparative scale for two months his position topples, and, if for three months, it is virtually gone. **He cannot afford to experiment with changes that will not give immediate results.** If he were his own master he might take a chance, knowing that the loss of this year would be compensated by gains under better conditions next year, but the monthly cost-sheet does not wait for next year; it demands results now.

"But it may be said that, if he cannot improve conditions himself, he can at least recommend them to his superiors to be transmitted to the Board of Directors for approval. This might indeed be done, and with the extension of an understanding among managers that low production costs may be secured with high wages, probably would be to an increasing extent, except that **Boards of Directors scorn such abstractions as the high-wage-low-cost theory, and habitually insist that managers shall buy labor, as they buy material, in the cheapest market.**

"Moreover, raising wages is traditionally unpopular among stockholders and directors, and recommendations for better conditions, particularly if they involve new capital, are frowned upon. Neither the stockholders nor the directors have to live on wages or work in the existing surroundings, and profits deferred are considered profits lost.

"The workers, therefore, deny the potency of even good intentions on the part of managers, and point to labor history which they allege shows that at best only isolated cases can be pointed out where marked improvements have taken place except in response to repeated demands from the workers, or to forestall the growth of threatened organization.

A $1 A HEAD TAX IS NONE TOO MUCH IN FACE OF THIS DIRE SITUATION

Woman Suffrage Demanded

AMERICAN "HOME" THING OF PAST; WOMEN AND CHILDREN GROUND INTO GOLD

The investigations and hearings of the Commission justify the conclusions:

1. As a result of their unprotected condition, women and children are exploited industry, trade, domestic service, and agriculture, to an extent which threatens their health and welfare and menaces the well-being of future generations.

2. The competition of women and children is a direct menace to the wage and salary standards of men.

3. Under present conditions, children are permitted by their parents to go to work largely because their earnings are necessary for the support of the rest of the family. The restrictive legislation of the past quarter-century, although admirable in purpose and ultimate results, has thrown a heavy burden upon their fathers and mothers, who, at existing wages, have been barely able to support their families. The evidence shows that **the burden of child labor legislation has rested upon the wage earners rather than upon employers.** It is the testimony of enlightened employers that the employment of children is unprofitable, and that the effect of excluding children from factories has been to increase rather than decrease profits. In the interest of society as a whole, further restrictions on the employment of immature children are necessary, but it is important that they should be made with an understanding that the burden will rest primarily upon the wage earners, whose self-sacrifice should be fully recognized.

4. The increasing employment of women has been due to two primary causes: First, the low wages of men, which have made the earnings of women necessary for the support of the family, and, second, the inducement to employers to substitute women for men because they will accept lower wages and are less likely to protest against conditions. The substitution of women for men has been greatly assisted by the introduction of improved machinery, which makes strength and technical skill unnecessary.

5. The increased employment of women, under present working conditions, is a serious menace to their own health and well-being, to the wages of their husbands and brothers, and to the ideals of family life upon which American civilization has been established.

6. The conditions under which women are employed in domestic service and in agriculture, merit the attention of the Nation no less than does their employment in manufacturing and trade. Not only is the economic condition of women employed in agriculture and domestic service a matter of grave concern, but they are subject to overwork, unreasonable hours, and personal abuse of various kinds, from which they have been largely relieved in factories and stores through agitation and legislation.

7. The position of women in industry has been rendered doubly hard by reason of their lack of training for industrial work, by the oversupply of such labor and the consequent competition, by their traditional position of dependence and by their disfranchisement.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMANDED

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The recognition both by public opinion and in such legislation as may be enacted, of the principle that women should receive the same compensation as men for the same service.

2. Until this principle is recognized, and **women are accorded equal political rights,** the extension of State protection of women, through legislation regulating working conditions, hours of service, and minimum wages, is highly desirable.

3. The increased organization of working women for self-protection and the improvement of their industrial conditions.

4. The inclusion of all women working for wages, whether in industry, trade, domestic service, or agriculture, under future legislation regulating their wages, hours, or working conditions.

FARM WORKERS IN STATE OF MISERABLE POVERTY

"In agriculture, there is no array of exact figures which can be quoted to show the condition of labor. But, speaking generally, the available evidence indicates clearly that while in some sections agricultural laborers are well paid and fairly treated, the condition of the mass is very much like that of the industrial workers.

"Moreover, there is a peculiar condition in agriculture, which merits a brief but strong statement at this point as a preface to a more detailed discussion later. **The most alarming fact in American agriculture is the rapid growth of tenancy.** In 1910 there were 37 tenant-operated farms out of each 100 farms in the United States as compared wih 28 in 1890, an increase of 32 per cent during 20 years. No nation-wide investigation of the condition of tenant farmers has ever been made, but in Texas where the investigations of this Commission were thorough and conclusive, it was found not only that the economic condition of the tenant was extremely bad, but also that he was far from being free, whereas his future was regarded as hopeless. Badly housed, ill-nourished, uneducated, and hopeless, these tenants continue year after year to eke out a bare living, moving frequently from one farm to another in the hope that something will turn up.

"Without a large family, the tenant cannot hope to succeed or break even, so in each tenant family numerous children are being reared to a future which under present conditions will be no better, if as good as that of their parents. The wife of a typical tenant farmer, the mother of eleven children, stated in her testimony before the Commission that in addition to the rearing of children and the work of the house, she always helped with the crops, and during all the years of her married life she had no ready-made dresses and only three hats.

"The investigations of this Commission in that rich and generally prosperous section of the country only confirm and accentuate the statements of the Federal Industrial Commission which reported in 1902: 'The result of this system (share tenancy) is that the renters rarely ever succeed in laying by a surplus. On the contrary, their experiences are so discouraging that they seldom remain on the same farm for more than a year. They are not only unable to lay by any money, but their children remain uneducated and half clothed. The system is apparently one of the most undesirable, so far as its effect on the community is concerned.' "

PAST CONDITIONS NO CRITERION

Discussing the question of whether or not labor conditions in the country's principal industries are satisfactory, the report repudiates the view that these conditions should be judged by comparison with the past. It asserts that conditions should be judged "only by comparing conditions as they actually exist with what knowledge and experience shows that they might easily be made during the immediate future, if proper action were taken to utilize the resources of our nation sufficienty and distribute the products equitably."

"The crux of the question," says the report, "**is have the workers received a fair share of the enormous increase in wealth which has taken place in this country during the past quarter century as a result largely of their labors? The answer is emphatically—No!**

"The wealth of the country between 1890 and 1912 increased from 65 to 187 billions, or 185 per cent, whereas the aggregate income of wage earners in manufacturing, mining, and transportation has risen between 1889 and 1909 only 95 per cent, from 2,516 millions in 1889 to 4,916 millions in 1909. Furthermore, the wage-earners' share of the net product of industry in the case of manufactures was only 40.2 per cent in 1909, as compared with 44.9 per cent in 1889.

FOREIGN CONDITIONS NOT PERTINENT

"Similarly, the attempt to dismiss deplorable labor conditions in the United States by arguments that they are better than in European countries is repugnant. To say that conditions are better than in Great Britain, for example, is simply to say that somewhat less than one-third of the population are in a state of absolute poverty, for that was the condition reported by the last British Commission. It should be a matter of shame also to boast that the condition of American laborers is better than that of laborers in the 'black bread belt' of Germany.

"That they are, as a matter of fact, but little better is proved conclusively by the almost complete cessation of immigration from Germany, England, and France. No better proof of the miserable condition of the mass of American workers can be sought than the fact that in recent years laborers in large numbers have come to this country only from Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary and the backward and impoverished nations of southern and eastern Europe.

No excuse for poverty—it is altogether a question of distribution. .Plenty is produced to keep us all prosperous!

"With the inexhaustible natural resources of the United States, her tremendous mechanical achievements, and the genius of her people for organization and industry, there can be no natural reason to prevent every able bodied man of our present population from being well fed, well housed, comfortably clothed, and from rearing a family of moderate size in comfort, health and security. How far this ideal is actually achieved is discussed in some detail in the following pages.

"It is evident both from the investigations of this Commission and from the reports of all recent Governmental bodies **that a large part of our industrial population are, as a result of the combination of low wages and unemployment, living in a condition of actual poverty.**"

MOYER'S SONGS OF SOCIALISM, 128 pages of words and music, superior to all other Socialist song books. 20c each (paper cover), $1.75 per dozen. Order of the Christian Socialist, 5457 Drexel Avenue, Chicago.

PAUPER BURIALS

The most striking evidence of poverty is the proportion of pauper burials. The repugnance of all classes of wage earners of all races to pauper burial is such that everything will be sacrificed and heavy debts incurred rather than permit any member of the family to lie in the "potters' field"; nevertheless in New York City one out of every twelve corpses is buried at the expense of the city, or turned over to physicians for dissection.—Walsh Report.

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Violence Forced on Labor

Of violence in labor disputes the report says:

"Violence is seldom, if ever, spontaneous, but arises from a conviction that fundamental rights are denied and that peaceful methods of adjustment can not be used. The sole exception seems to lie in the situation where, **intoxicated with power,** the stronger party to the dispute relies upon force to suppress the weaker.

"The arbitrary suppression of violence by force produces only resentment which will rekindle into greater violence when opportunity offers. **Violence can be prevented only by removing the causes of violence; industrial peace can rest only upon industrial justice.**

"The origin of violence in connection with industrial disputes can usually be traced to the conditions prevailing in the particular industry in time of peace, or to arbitrary action on the part of Governmental officials which infringes on what are conceived to be fundamental rights. Violence and disorder during actual outbreaks usually **result from oppressive conditions** that have obtained in a particular shop or factory or in a particular industry. Throughout history where a people or a group have been arbitrarily denied rights which they conceived to be theirs, reaction has been inevitable. **Violence is a natural form of protest against injustice.**

"Violence in industrial disputes is not immediately the product of industrial conditions, but of the attitude of the parties to the dispute after grievances or demands have been presented. The principal sources of an attitude leading to violence are:

"a. Arrogance on the part of the stronger party. This may result immediately in violence through the use of force for the suppression of the weaker party. The force used may be physical or industrial. Physical force may be and is used by both employers and employees, through intimidation, assaults or attacks on property. Such physical aggresion is seldom used by employees, as they are strategically the weaker party and the results are negative; only under exceptional circumstances can an employer be coerced by the use of force or intimidation. The exceptions seem to lie in the use of secret means, such as dynamite, with the object of weakening the employer's resistance.

"The use of force by workers is normally directed not against the person or property of the employer, but against strikebreakers and guards. Many instances of the use of physical force by the agents of employers have, however, come before the Commission, indicating a relatively wide use, particularly in isolated communities. Such acts of violence usually take the form of assaults upon the leaders of the workers or upon organizers.

VIOLENCE BY EMPLOYERS

The instruments of industrial force belong chiefly to the employer, because of his control of the job of the worker. Their use is more common and more effective than any other form of violence at the command of the employer. THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPON IS THE POWER OF DISCHARGE, WHICH MAY BE USED INDISCRIMINATELY UPON MERE SUSPICION, WHICH UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS MAY BE ALMOST AS POTENT, EITHER IN USE OR THREAT, AS THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH. It is the avowed policy of many employers to discharge any man who gives any sign of dissatisfaction on the theory that he may become a trouble maker or agitator.

"The only corresponding weapon in the hands of the workers is sabotage, in the form either of malicious destruction of property or of interference with production. The field of its use is much more restricted in practice than in theory and its results at best are negative and produce in the employer only a blind resentment and undiscriminating hate. Sabotage as a policy shows no signs of developing in American industry.

b. Equally productive of an attitude leading to violence is the denial of the use of peaceful methods of adjusting grievances, or the creation of a situation in which their use becomes impossible.

On the part of the employer the arbitrary acts which may be classed under this general head are:

Denial of the right to organize.

Refusal to consider the complaints of workers.

Refusal to meet the authorized representatives of workers.

Under modern industrial conditions any one of these acts makes peaceful negotiation and settlement impossible. Without organization of the workers their collective claims can not be considered; without the right to appoint such representatives as they choose, workers are at the mercy of the employer's power of discharge and are usually unequal to the task of presenting and arguing their claims; while the refusal to consider grievances leaves only the alternative of the strike.

On the part of the workers, the possibility of peaceful settlement may be destroyed by refusal to discuss claims, by internal dissensions which render collective and definite action looking to a settlement impossible, and by the issuance of ultimata which allow no time for consideration and negotiation. In any one of these situations the employer has only the choice between tame submission or absolute resistance to the demands of the workers."

"VIOLENCE AND STRIKEBREAKERS"

"The immediate cause of violence in connection with industrial disputes is almost without exception the attempt to introduce strikebreakers to take the place of the workers who have struck or who are locked out. **The entire problem of policing industrial disputes grows out of the problem of the strikebreaker and the attitude of the State toward him.**

"All experience shows that if no attempt is made to operate the plant, violence and disturbances requiring the police are practically unknown, whereas the attempt of strikebreakers to reach the plant, particularly where strikers are enjoined or prevented from using reasonable means to inform them of the existence of the strike and to use persuasive methods to keep them from entering the plant, is invariably accompanied by disorder and sometimes by active violence.

"The plea of the workers for the assumption of a new attitude in relation to strikebreakers is based not only upon the negative character of the rights of the employer and the strikebreaker, but upon a positive though somewhat undefinable demand for recognition that strikers have a right to the jobs which they have left until their grievances are in some way adjusted. The argument is not only that when workers are willing to strike and sacrifice their livelihood, the conditions against which they protest must be assumed to be socially injurious, but, even more, that the worker who has stuck in support of his demand for better conditions has not abandoned his job, but, in fact, has a keener interest in it than when quietly submitting to distasteful conditions.

"At the very basis of the workers' contentions, however, lies the realization that working conditions can be improved only by strikes and that no strike can be won if the employer can operate his plant without difficulty. This is becoming increasingly true with every step in the Nation's industrial development. During more primitive periods, if workers struck their places could not be filled except through the existence of a surplus of qualified labor in the community or by enticing workers from other employers. Now, the development of transportation, the establishment of specialized agencies for supplying strikebreakers, and the growth of large corporations which can shift employees from one plant to another, have given each employer a command of the labor market of the entire country. There are agencies in every large city which will contract to supply any kind of labor on short notice, while almost any of the large industrial corporations can either supply the normal demand with one-half or three-quarters of their plants, or recruit from the surplus labor around their various plants a skeleton organization which can resume operations in a short time.

STATE CONSTABULARY

"The Commission devoted a great deal of attention to the question of a State constabulary as a method of policing industry. Extensive investigations of the organization, personnel, and activities of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary were made and a number of witnesses were heard at leangth. The findings with regard to this particular police organization may be briefly stated: It is an extremely efficient force for crushing strikes, but it is not successful **in preventing violence in connection with strikes,** in maintaining the legal and civil rights of the parties to the dispute, nor in protecting the public. On the contrary, **violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute;** the legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected which the dispute and innocent of any interference with the constabulary have been brutally treated and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with a strike, that the strikers are its enemies and the enemies of the State, and that a campaign should be waged against them as such.

DENIAL OF FREE SPEECH—CONDEMNS THE GOVERNMENT

"One of the greatest sources of social unrest and bitterness has been the attitude of the police toward public speaking. On numerous occasions in every part of the country, the police of cities and towns have either arbitrarily or under the cloak of a traffic ordinance, interfered with or prohibited public speaking, both in the open and in halls, by persons connected with organizations of which the police or those from whom they received their orders did not approve. In many instances such interference has been carried out with a degree of brutality which would be incredible if it were not vouched for by reliable witnesses. Bloody riots frequently have accompanied such interference and large numbers of persons have been arrested for acts of which they were innocent or which were committed under the extreme provocation of brutal treatment of police or private citizens.

"In some cases this suppression of free speech seems to have been the result of sheer brutality and wanton mischief, but in the majority of cases it undoubtedly is the result of a belief by the police or their superiors that they were "supporting and defending the Government" by such an invasion of personal rights. There coud be no greater error. Such action strikes at the very foundations of Government. **It is axiomatic that a Government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained. Furthermore, it is the lesson of history that attempts to suppress ideas results only in their more rapid propagation.**

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WARNING!

Do Not be Fooled by False Cries of "Division"

Do not be deceived by the loud cries of "divided report." On all important facts the Commission was a unit. The main report, drawn up by Basil M. Manly, director of the investigation, was signed by Chairman Walsh and Commissioners Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson. Objections to it were made by the "employers' representatives," Weinstock, Aishton and Ballard, on the ground that it was "partisan and unfair." Then these three submit a report of their own which ADMITS EVERY CHARGE BROUGHT AGAINST CAPITALISTS, although they represent the capitalists; a report which faults Labor for its violent tactics, and THEN ADMITS THAT LABOR HAS NO OTHER RECOURSE; and which closes with the admission that the employers' representatives themselves, if they were workingmen, would not only be labor unionists, but that as unionists they would feel that their "trade union duties were worthy the same attention as their civic duties."

In other words, first acknowledging themselves to be partisan, they admit that if they were workingmen they would feel as the other commissioners do; thus explaining THAT THEIR PROTEST IS MADE, NOT BECAUSE THEY QUESTION THE FACTS, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE EMPLOYERS, and to "save the face" of the employing class.

The third report is made by Prof. John R. Commons and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. It is so blatantly idiotic, so comprehensively contemptible in its point of view, that all the other commissioners scorned to notice it. Prof. Commons, the school teacher, and Mrs. Harriman, the "uplifter," announce to the world that one great cause of the class war is "unreliable reports and statistics!" and that if a commission is appointed to publish accurate statistics it will "remove suspicion and distrust!" It was these two commissioners whom Chairman Frank P. Walsh charged with attempting to suppress facts on behalf of the Rockefellers.

As a sample of the incredible foolishness of these two Commissioners, Prof. Commons and Mrs. Harriman, notice that in order to secure the proper enforcement of the laws, they advocate the creation of a permanent Industrial Commission, which shall ADMINISTER ALL THE LABOR LAWS OF THE NATION AND EACH OF THE STATES; which shall control the army and the militia; which shall supervise all corporations and all unions, and shall in general have powers, as pointed out by Commissioners Lennon and O'Connell, "far in excess of those exercised by the President of the United States or the Governors of any State. This we believe to be bureaucracy run mad, and a subversion of democracy dangerous to the civil and social liberty of all citizens."

For the honor of the nation, Prof. Commons and Mrs. Harriman had best be speedily forgotten.

"LABOR MUST PLAY THE GAME" SAYS AUTHOR OF WALSH REPORT

"I really think," said Basil M. Manly, director of the Walsh Commission's report, "that the most significant thing about the report is the stress it lays upon the declaration that it is up to labor to remedy the situation we have laid bare. Until labor gets ready to stand up and play the game, nothing can be done—Government can't do it, capital won't do it. Labor must redeem itself or remain the way it is."

Mr. Manly was tired out, after two strenuous years of campaigning. He was working out a chart showing the physical development of one Laura B. Manly, a trifle under eighteen months old, when I came into his pleasant study just around the corner from the Christian Socialist Office. Mr. Manly is a youthful looking man, as his picture shows. But he is a veteran at his work. For seven years he has been conducting investigations for the Department of Labor, or the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and he knows the horrors of American Industry inside out.

BASIL M. MANLY.

His principal investigations have been as follows:

Woman and Child Labor in the Glass Industry—1908.

Empoyment of Women in the Electric Lamp Industry—1909.

Labor Conditions in the Iron and Steel Industry—1910-11. (This was the first study of every phase of an industry made in the United States—capitalization, unemployment, wages, hours, displacement of men by machinery, etc. It was also the first government document which endorsed the 8-hour day.)

Increase in prices of anthracite coal—1912.

(Revealed the monopoly in the anthracite field, and showed how under cover of a slight increase in wages, the mine owners increased prices to the consumers, reaping a clear profit of $13,500,000.)

United States Industrial Commission Inquiry—1914-1915.

I. T.

IN DARKEST CHICAGO

Following the wholesale attempts at assassination of the truth by dismissing from the colleges all teachers of economic facts, capitalism has launched an attempt to smash the Teachers' Federation of the Chiuago Public Schools. The Board of Education, composed of prominent business men, is seeking to secure the dismissal of all teachers who join any union or organization whatever.

What lies behind this is the long warfare of the Teachers against the annual robbery, by Big Business, of millions of dollars belonging to the school fund. Money belonging to the children is stolen by fake leases and rake-offs. The teachers are fighting this robbery—hence they must be silenced. It's all a part of the campaign against truth.

Only ten thousand copies of the Press Summary of the Industrial Commission report were printed. You may get a copy of this summary by writing to the Superintendent of Public Documents, Washington, D. C., a letter something like this:

"Superintendent of Public Documents,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—

As mentioned in the Christian Socialist of Chicago, please send me a copy of the Press Abstract of the report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, in three sections."

Whether you do this or not, be sure and write your Congressman a personal letter, demanding the publication of the Full Report for public distribution. Every effort will be made to have this report hidden and withheld. It is up to you to see that it is made public. Get labor unions to send resolutions, demanding this; get up lists of names demanding it, and urge individuals to write personal letters.

THIS REPORT MUST BE MADE PUBLIC: THE WALSH COMMISSION HAS DONE ALL THAT IT CAN—NOW IT IS UP TO US!

GREAT CHARITABLE TRUSTS ARE MENACE TO WELFARE OF NATION

How the black hand of greed is stretching out to control all education and all charity is traced by the Commission's report in its biting section on the great "charitable" foundations. It urges immediate Congressional action to stop this "menace to the national welfare." The categorical charge is made against John Rockefeller, Jr., that he planned to distribute lies known to be such, malicious slanders against labor known to be untrue, and falsehoods deliberately concocted all over the land to further his aims and secure his control.

IT URGES THE GOVERNMENT TO OVERTHROW THESE GREAT FOUNDATIONS BY DOING THE WORK THEY ATTEMPT BETTER THAN THEY COULD DO IT.

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George McA. Miller, President.

SPREAD KNOW[illegible]